Approved For Release 2009/10/22: CIA-RDP86B00420R000200310025-9

U.S. Envoy Looks to Soviet Talks On a New Cultural Exchange Pact

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Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 22 — Arthur A. Hartman, the United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union, said today that the two countries were involved in talks that "could lead to some kind of progress on the more serious issues."

He said he hoped for a resumption of talks on a cultural and scientific exchange agreement. Negotiations on exchanges and on establishing consulates in New York and Kiewwere about to be revived last summer when President Reagan ordered a suspension in response to the downing of a South Korean airliner by a Soviet plane.

The exchange agreement expired in 1980 and was not renewed by the Carter Administration because of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The establishment of the additional consulates was also canceled by President Carter.

In another East-West forum, the European security talks in Stockholm, the Soviet Union was said to be testing

NATO interest in a statement renouncing the use of force to clear the way for a resumption of arms talks. [Page A8.]

Ambassador Hartman returned to Washington several days ago for the second time in less than a month to consult and to talk to outside groups in an effort to promote support for a more positive approach to dealing with the Soviet Union. He has been cautious on the possibilities because of what he perceives to be a power struggle involving the new leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, and others in the Politburo.

"It is very difficult for me to say today what their policies are," Mr. Hartman said on the NBC News program "Today." "For one thing, I think that there are differences of opinion within Moscow. There is perhaps some competition for leadership."

Another official said the Government

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was debating whether to ask the Senate to approve two nuclear treaties with the Soviet Union. One, limiting underground weapon tests to the equivalent of 150 kilotons of TNT, was signed in 1974; the other, on monitoring nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, was signed in 1976. They have never been acted on.

Kenneth L. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said in an interview, "There are people in the Administration who want to go ahead with these two treaties, and people who don't want to."

Mr. Adelman would not say what his position was, but other officials have said that Senate approval is being sought by the State Department and is opposed by the Pentagon, with Mr. Adelman's position ambiguous.

He said the National Security Council had met twice on the subject.

Mr. Adelman said those advocating approval argue that a treaty signed by a President should be brought to the Senate for approval. A second reason cited for Senate action is that the United States and the Soviet Union have already agreed not to violate the 150-kiloton limit.

He said the advocates also argue that ratification would make it easier to verify compliance because each side would be required to turn over geological data about test sites and allow some on-site inspection.

Mr. Adelman said those opposed were dissatisfied with the verification aspects and felt that a Senate debate would divert attention from more important arms control talks.

In a report to Congress last January, the Administration said that, although information was questionable because of the difficulties involved, it was "likely" that there had been some Soviet underground explosions over the 150-kiloton limit. The Russians have also ac-

cused the United States of violating the limit. Both sides have denied doing so.

Ratification by the United States was cited by Mr. Chernenko in a speech on March 2 as the kind of concrete measures by which the United States could "prove its peaceableness by deeds."

Mr. Hartman met with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko 10 days ago, and Secretary of State George P. Shultz conferred with Anatoly F. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador, at about the same time.

"We have tried over the last little while to see whether or not it is possible to begin to get at discussions of some problems that separate us," Mr. Hartman said on the "Today" program. "We are trying to see whether it is possible through diplomatic channels to begin to deal with some of these issues.

"I think there is a readiness for dialogue. The question is, is there a readiness to sit down and really discuss substantive issues, for example, to go back into the arms control talks."

The Russians quit the talks after deployment of American missiles began.

"I think there is a readiness to discuss some of the bilateral issues," Mr. Hartman said. "I would hope, for example, that we would be soon able to talk more seriously about an exchange agreement. We are looking at a whole series of areas that perhaps could warm up the relationship, could lead to some kind of progress on the more serious issues."

He said there had been no discussion of a possible summit meeting.

"Our position on the whole question

of a summit is that you have got to have something worthwhile to discuss," Mr. Hartman said. "We are now trying to see whether there are worthwhile things to discuss."

Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, speaking today in Birmingham, Ala., attributed the problems in relations with the Soviet Union to the absence of strong leadership in Moscow.

He said there had been three Soviet leaders during the Reagan Administration and "this flux in the Kremlin has severely hampered the give-and-take of diplomacy in general, and of our arms control negotiations in particu-

"Productive negotiations require flexibility, and flexibility requires leadership that is willing to make difficult decisions and accept responsibility for them," he said.